

ASPIRA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN
INDIGENOUSLY LED PUERTO RICAN GROUP

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CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM AND PREVIEW OF THE THESIS

I. Statement of the Problem

This thesis will attempt to determine the trends and variables that have affected the formation of an indigenously led, self-help, Puerto Rican group. (Aspira, the group with which the study will be concerned, is the first Puerto Rican led, private agency in New York City, concentrating on problem solving, especially with the lack of indigenous leadership and with low levels of academic achievement.) In keeping with this problem, the study will attempt to elucidate the list of variables, in a more complete manner, which affects the processes involved in leadership development, the creation of grass roots organizations, and acculturation.

Through the application of low range theory and propositions to a concrete problem, the study will attempt to clarify the relationship of several concepts, frequently appearing in minority studies that are not clearly articulated or operationally defined. Herein, the study will devise an understanding of the relationship of acculturative variables to self-help groups. This will require articulation of the process by which acculturation is related to self-help organizations.

Expected outcomes of this research will be statements

that will elucidate the relationship between a group's ability to form indigenous leadership and the variables that affect the group's ability to acculturate. A more comprehensive scheme of acculturative variables must be constructed using past schemes as well as more recent information that corresponds to changing conditions. Indicators conforming to this scheme will then be chosen in order to be able to make a qualitative evaluation of the Puerto Rican situation at the conclusion of the study.

II. Validation of the Problem

There is a critical need for research in both the substantive area of Puerto Rican studies and in the theoretic schemes dealing with acculturation. Immersion in studies of both areas reveals shortcomings and a lack of coordination between substantive studies and theoretic work on minority adjustment patterns.

In the substantive area, there are significant differences in the Puerto Rican migration, indicating that it cannot be analyzed by replicas of schemes that have been utilized in the past. One of the most crucial differences is the fact that approximately forty years have passed since there was a large scale immigration to the United States. This calls for modernization and revision of the components affecting acculturation in the absence of past settlement

will be more fully explained at that point.

The thesis will then proceed to cover Puerto Rican organizations in New York City in order to gauge the type, origin, leadership, and purposes of these organizations. This will also be handled as one indication of the level of cohesion and integration of the Puerto Rican community. The research for this section will consist of interviews and observation, along with primary and secondary data.

In handling the broad trends affecting the formation of Aspira, the study will examine the manner in which acculturative variables and mobility are related to leadership development. Low range theory and propositions will be applied to this research. Present schemes will be enlarged and evaluated. This will require immersion into minority studies on acculturation and the implications of mobility. Through the analysis of the inter-relationship of several processes and concepts, the writer expects to be able to generate certain propositions on indigenous leadership as well.

Some general thoughts about methodology are relevant at this point. A study, such as this one, which touches upon many areas must be selective in its presentation, because each of the subparts has potential for expansion into a more detailed study. Although a study may have nu-

CHAPTER II

MINORITY GROUP ORGANIZATIONS

An examination of minority group organizations is critical to my problem, because the ability to generate indigenous leadership and to form organizations affects the minority group's ability to make further adjustments to an alien environment, especially an urban one. As will be examined in more detail in chapter six, the formation of a new, mobile leadership strata within the framework of a minority organization is likely to promote the creation and development of further minority organizations.

Certain problems should be considered before analyzing these organizations for their sociological implications in the field of minority studies. The greater part of sociological studies dealing with minority groups have been of the descriptive type rather than the theoretical. There is a shortage of low range, simple generalizations and of systematic schemes that can be utilized for fruitful comparisons between minority group experiences in the descriptive data that is available. This has resulted in little cumulation among minority studies and the absence of a well formulated framework in the field of minority studies.¹

¹Hubert M. Blalock Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations (New York: John Wiley and Sons Incorporated, 1967), p. 10.

As a consequence of the absence of formulated conceptual schemes, especially in regard to minority organizations, I had to do comprehensive research in minority studies in order to abstract generalizations concerning the origin, functions and sociological implications of these organizations.

With these limiting factors in mind, the classification and analysis of minority organizations will deal with a functional evaluation of past agencies of ethnic origin and will provide the background material for chapter four concerning Puerto Rican organizations.

It is necessary to proceed in such a way that Aspira will not be viewed in isolation, and so that relevant past research will aid in the interpretation of newer, unclassified material. It has been about forty years since the decline of large scale immigration approximating the more recent Puerto Rican influx, and it was necessary to use organizations of a different time period for comparative reasons.

Because aims and activities overlap, it is not possible to present a classification of minority group organizations which has mutually exclusive categories. The classification which follows is a combination of different schemes presented by Handlin, Chapman, Lewis, and

Chyz² that is the most satisfactory for the purposes of this study.

The categories are: (1) self-help (2) religious (3) social and cultural (4) economic (5) action and protest (6) political, and (7) foreign press and radio.

The manner in which the diverse immigrant groups were able to function in these areas greatly affected the process and the speed of acculturation. All of these groups had the ultimate goal of furthering adjustment and of maximizing social, economic, or educational mobility.

In the abbreviated analysis of these extensive areas which follows, it will be evident that the groups arose in response to the manifold problems that the immigrant encountered in adjusting to new conditions. For the most part, they are formed to provide for the needs which the minority group perceives are not being met in the social structure by other governmental or private agencies. Overwhelmed and with feelings of impotence, the immigrants turned to each other for solace and assistance. The newcomers were able to profit by the experience and newly acquired knowledge of those of their own nationality group

²Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1951), pp. 170-200; Stanley H. Chapman, "Organizations of Minority Groups," One America, Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, editors (New York: Prentice Hall, Incorporated, 1952), p. 416; and Yaroslav J. Chyz and Read Lewis, "Agencies Organized by Nationality Groups in the United States," American Minorities, Milton L. Barron, editor (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), pp. 416-417.

who had preceded them.³

⟨The first category that will be dealt with is self-help, sometimes categorized as benevolent, fraternal or mutual aid associations. This would be the category in which Aspira would be placed.)

Originally, these associations began as a result of the immigrants' great concern with death, considered to be the beginning of another form of existence. The strangeness of a new land made it particularly important for a man to be buried in sacred ground with his deceased friends and relatives.⁴ This aspect lost its significance as the agencies began to extend their activities. Many of them that still exist have enlarged their services and are now responsible for contributing to the support of such varied things as schools, orphanages, publications, homes for the aged, and different types of educational benefits.⁵ Although they differ according to the field in which they concentrate their activities, as a whole, the above mentioned functions would have a positive affect upon acculturation.

³Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), p. 76.

⁴Handlin, The Uprooted, p. 173.

⁵Chyz and Lewis, op. cit., p. 423.

(Aspira, in like manner, is the result of the perception of a problem and functions to ameliorate this problem through leadership development and education. The common denominator is the fact that the problem preceded the organization and its concerted effort at social change.)

The second category of the classification is composed of religious organizations. The establishment of a church was the first task of immigrant groups able to function in a communal manner. In their own churches, there were a variety of programs oriented towards minority group members, such as services conducted in the native language or bilingually. At the same time, this implemented the retention of older cultural customs, yet heightened the awareness of the new situation. In addition, these religious organizations often provided a social as well as a religious center which performed many functions that may have been problematic for the newcomer in an unfamiliar urban setting.

Of significance in the present study is the manner in which the Catholic church affected acculturation among the European immigrants. During the periods of heavy migration, they were often organized according to nationality parishes, characterized by clergy representing the minority group who conducted services in the native language. They also satisfied the need for the familiar by celebrating

CHAPTER IV

PuERTO RICAN ORGANIZATIONS

During the early part of the 1960's, the period in which Aspira was founded, the organizational structure of the Puerto Rican group on the mainland was relatively weak. The material presented in this chapter will examine this situation, and the next chapter will examine Aspira as a new development in the Puerto Rican community.

Material in the area of Puerto Rican organizations is apt to deal with a concrete description of a limited number of organizations. Studies also tend to avoid classification of types of groups or a functional type of approach, both of which are demanded by a study of this type. Due to these limitations and the scarcity of available studies, the interpretation of some of the material in this chapter about Puerto Rican ethnic groups required some research into areas other than minority groups. Certain institutions in society, especially organized crime and religion, were examined with stress on the manner in which alternative means of adaptation other than the traditional are related to acculturation.

In general, it appears that most studies concerned with Puerto Ricans on the mainland and their organizations are not systematic approaches which evolve even sim-

ple classifications of indigenous groups according to type or function. As such, many minority studies devote little space and attention to the crucial area of indigenous organizations and the manner in which they have related to Puerto Rican acculturation. For example, one book entitled American Minority Relations by James Vander Zanden devoted only several lines to institutions that have been created in response to Puerto Rican needs. The lack of extensive or visible organization was implied by his mention of food stores, travel agencies and the small, storefront churches as the examples of institutions responding to Puerto Rican demands.¹ It is possible that similar treatment in general minority studies and those dealing specifically with the Puerto Rican are in part due to the lack of a pervasive effect by Puerto Rican, indigenous organizations than an oversight. However, the effect of the lack of organizations should not be discounted. The problem is oversimplified when it is stated that the government provides services which in the past were performed by ethnic, philanthropic societies. The effect of the absence of these is not, however, generally examined in depth or in terms of the implications and consequences to the

¹James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1966), p. 243.

of spiritualism flourishes in communities which are going through rapid cultural change.¹²

With all this, it is seen that in the field of social action, the religious organizations tend toward withdrawal and segmentation, ineffective militancy, or aid on the individual level in conjunction with the maintenance of the status quo in most instances. In effect, the religious structure can hardly be considered as a powerful instrument in the generation of local organization, in promoting acculturation, or in accelerating the processes contributing to the nurture of indigenous leadership.

Consider now the area encompassing the various forms of social groups which are an element in the process of acculturation. Despite the variety of groups in this area and the related aims, there are some common functions performed by social and cultural groups. Whatever the stated purpose of the group, their significance has stemmed from the fact that they gave approval and support to their members who were searching for self identity in their adopted surroundings. They also had a positive effect because of the wide acceptance of this type of group within the framework of American society.¹³ In the past, ethnic

¹² Dan Wakefield, Island in the City (New York: Corinth Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 59-69.

¹³ Oscar Handlin, The Jprooted (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), pp. 194-195.

social organizations had also performed many philanthropic functions, as well as being the medium through which self expression was voiced. Through the expression of their group's needs, they related to other societal institutions such as the political.

Against this background the Puerto Rican social groups must be evaluated. In general, the associational ties of the Puerto Rican is likely to be confined. Yet, there is a network of hometown clubs which appear to be common in the social area. They function to reduce loneliness and estrangement and provide for some type of mutual aid with limited resources. They also provide a recreational outlet.¹⁴

Despite these functions, this network of social organizations, whose membership is based on shared origin in hometowns and local areas in Puerto Rico, does not perform the extensive functions characteristic of the ethnic societies that were created during earlier periods of immigration. It is partly due to the usurpation of function by other institutions and agencies. As far as the social aspect is concerned, commercial business interests have expanded and provide a great variety of entertainment and other forms of recreation. Private and governmental

¹⁴Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 218.

CHAPTER V

ASPIRA: A SELF-HELP GROUP

Methodology

Information about Aspira, the first private, Puerto Rican led group dealing with educational achievement, from secondary sources was negligible. Interviews with Dr. Charles Bahn who functioned as an information director, organizational material and other unpublished data provided by Louis Nieves, the Assistant Executive Director, and perusals of financial and annual reports were the sources of information used in order to develop insight into this agency and to present the data that follows in such a manner that it could be related in terms of function to older immigrant organizations and to the problem of acculturation on a conceptual level.

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to an organization in its initial stages which parallels ethnic organizations of past periods of migration, partly in structure, but more importantly in function. There are many ways to approach the study of an organization. In keeping with the demands of the present study, Aspira's programs will be examined in so far as they present evidence of performing broad functions contributing to acculturation similar to

those performed by earlier ethnic organizations. Expansion of facilities and programs, along with data on increasing student participation and enrollment in college will be examined and used as evidence of the organization's effectiveness in contributing to leadership development and to the class mobility of Puerto Rican youth.

Perception of the Problem

Aspira was created as an attempt to confront a problematic situation resulting from adjustment. It is a response to a perceived problem, as were the older immigrant organizations. The educational handicaps and shortcomings of the Puerto Ricans preceded the formation of this organization, which is a concerted effort at social change.

At this point, it is important to note that the work done in order to establish Aspira was initiated by the Puerto Rican Forum. As was the case with past ethnic societies, the leadership was composed of a mobile sector of the Puerto Rican group who had attained professional status.

The Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., was established in 1958 as a private institution to serve the specific needs of the Puerto Rican in New York. It had two main goals, "the creation and development of Spanish-speaking institutions and the concomitant development of leadership to maintain and

expand those institutions."¹ As such, in 1960, they developed Aspira, the first private agency staffed by Puerto Ricans to serve the educational needs of the Puerto Rican youth in New York City. This agency has become autonomist and has four centers located in areas that are predominantly Spanish-speaking. Additional chapters are now being formed in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois.²

A short summary of the educational situation at the time period when Aspira was begun will verify their perception of the problem as a realistic appraisal.

Educational Limitations of Puerto Ricans

In the Early 1960's

The following figures are given as indicators of the lack of achievement of the Puerto Rican in the field of education at approximately the same period in which Aspira was in its formulative stage. They indicate the intensity of the problem in comparison to other groups. In comparison with other ethnic and racial groups in New York City, adult Puerto Ricans had attained the least amount of formal education. In 1960,

¹Statement by Jose M. Aguayo, Assistant Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Forum, Incorporated, personal correspondence, May 21, 1969.

²Ibid.

only 13 per cent of Puerto Rican adults had graduated from high school. A little more than half of the adults had not completed eight years of education. These statistics include adults born on the mainland and those born on the island.³

The younger Puerto Ricans also display patterns of low achievement. Their handicap is greater than any other group in the New York City public schools. In 1961, less than 10 per cent of the Puerto Rican children in the third grade had achieved that grade level in reading. Much of this reading retardation was severe and became more critical at higher levels. In the eighth grade only 13 per cent of the students were reading on grade level or higher. Of the remaining 87 per cent, two thirds of the group were underachieving in excess of three years.⁴

Academic achievement was also retarded in high school. In 1963, 21,000 academic diplomas were issued in the city, of which 331 went to Puerto Ricans. This was only 20 per cent of the total of high school graduates identified as Puerto Rican.⁵

³Puerto Rican Forum, Incorporated, "The Puerto Rican Community of New York: A Statistical Profile," The Puerto Rican Development Project (New York: Puerto Rican Forum, 1964), p. 34.

⁴Ibid., p. 39.

⁵Ibid., pp. 39-41.

Overriding Objectives

The staff of Aspira is attempting to develop a stable economic and social middle class group of Puerto Ricans which will be the source of a community oriented leadership strata. The leadership is concerned with furthering mobility through processes associated with acculturation. It is their expectation that social change can be accomplished through educational channels.

In the last chapter concerned with Puerto Rican groups, it was seen that they rely on others for leadership or are greatly dependent on the Migration Division for aid. This is the first self-help agency of significance formed by Puerto Ricans with a plan of action based on a problem solving approach to education.⁶

Original Leadership and Planning

October 16, 1961 marks the beginning of Aspira. On that day, Miss Antonia Pantoja and Mrs. Antonia Galvez became the executive director and the administrative assistant, respectively. Miss Pantoja, who was the most instrumental in the formation of Aspira, grew up in one of Puerto Rico's worst slum areas.⁷ She received her secondary

⁶Aspira Incorporated, Aspira Annual Report, 1966-67 (New York: Aspira Incorporated, 1967), p. 5.

⁷New York Times, May 26, 1967, p. 93.

education in New York and had a professional background in social work. In like manner, most of the original leaders had come from lower socio-economic backgrounds.⁸

In March of 1962, the agency was comprised of six staff members. These included the two original positions along with two office workers and two educational counselors. By 1965, the agency had four centers and a staff of 70 employees.

The events leading to the formation of this group coincide with the rise of a small middle class of professionals capable of providing leadership and able to function in an associational setting. Although small in numbers, this segment of professionals who were community oriented was of sufficient size to originate and staff this agency. They were educated and thus able to perceive an area in which the Puerto Ricans in New York could benefit by guidance.

The original staff of Aspira under the guidance of Miss Pantoja was especially aware of two trends that had affected the acculturation and upward mobility of earlier minority groups. The first was the establishment of self-help groups of various types by the more advantaged and better educated members of the groups. Second, they

⁸Aspira Annual Report, 1966-67, loc. cit.

stressed the importance of education as a significant variable affecting the ability to acculturate.

They further viewed the Puerto Rican group as a minority which shared many of the problems similar to earlier migrant groups. At that time, they were also aware of the many services available through private and public agencies to the migrant. However, they decided that an inadequate amount of attention was being directed toward the development of educational and creative potential. As a result, they attempted to formulate educational programs that would accelerate the rate of development of a technical, managerial and professional group of Puerto Ricans. Being aware of this lack, the original planning group channeled their discontent into the creation of an organization that fostered social change through traditional ladders of ascent. Retardation in these areas was partially ascribed to the lack of awareness about education of the migrant and to a lack of sufficient services in this area.

There were shortcomings in available programs that the original founders of Aspira sought to overcome in order to achieve their goals. This planning group felt that students need educational and career counseling early in their school career. Those students with higher qualifications ought to be encouraged to reject general and vocational

cational high school programs in favor of academic and college preparatory courses.

There was also dissatisfaction with the limited dissemination of information about education and the feeling that much of the Puerto Rican community in New York was unaware of the information that is necessary for increased achievement in education. It seemed that it would be necessary for the parents to become aware of existing educational opportunities in order to be able to encourage their children to cooperate with the agency's programs. This was related to the need for knowledge about incentives to needy students such as scholarships, loans, fellowships, and other available forms of assistance.

Lastly, they thought that one of the overriding barriers hindering advancement was the lack of indigenously led Puerto Rican groups and the lack of the knowledge and skill necessary to create those groups, which could become involved in solving the manifold problems encumbering the Puerto Rican migrants and those born on the mainland.⁹

Concerning this last problem, it is important to note that once the official jargon is interpreted, it is seen that the original leaders perceived the limitation of their number. The data presented on page 89 confirms this. In

⁹Material presented by Dr. Bahn, Director of Research of Aspira, Incorporated, interview, May 7, 1968.

this case, there was a sufficient number of professionals to organize and to obtain any services that they could not provide for themselves. Yet, the Puerto Ricans lacked the leadership on an extensive basis of a group that could effectively function in a complex urban environment. They lacked an indigenous group to emulate.

As a result of this situation, Aspira was essentially involved in developing programs aimed at accelerating the emergence of a leadership group. An interpretation of the role and dynamics of leadership will be found in the next chapter. Following is a summary of services provided for by Aspira which will be related to the functions performed by self-help groups of earlier periods.

Programs Concerning Students

In an effort to improve the educational potential and leadership capabilities of Puerto Rican students, Aspira clubs have been established, most operating within high school settings and having the approval of the principal who assigns a member of the teaching staff as club advisor. The clubs vary in size from 30 to 100 members.

In order to foster the development of leadership skills, the students are involved in the initial stages of formulating an organization, election of officers, and committee confirmation. It is expected that these experiences will con-

tribute to the students' ability to function in an associational setting and to their ability to relate to non-Puerto Rican leaders at different levels. As such, within the limited scope and dimensions of the high school framework, the student oriented programs are aimed at controlled leadership development.¹⁰

In addition to the clubs, the borough headquarters situated in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx provide educational workshops dealing with both the students and parents. The importance of education is stressed and vocational and educational material is disseminated. Further educational information is provided at a series of lectures on the professions provided for the students in order to familiarize them with the processes and requirements involved in attaining certain positions. On the individual level counseling is provided for the student to help him develop realistic educational goals.¹¹

In order to further facilitate the educational process, considered a prerequisite for leaders who must communicate with non-Puerto Ricans at various levels, there is a Scholarship and Loan Center. More information about the grants received will be found on page 69.

¹⁰Aspira Annual Report, 1966-67, pp. 8-10.

¹¹Ibid., pp.11-13.

Parent Oriented Programs

The Federation of Puerto Rican Parents is an auxiliary of Aspira which includes 15 chapters in Manhattan, The Bronx, and Brooklyn. This group of over 8,000 parents has monthly meetings which familiarize the parents with the educational problems their offspring may encounter and with an overview of the total educational process.¹²

Summary of Services

The following tables are composed of the latest available information. In some cases, figures will be presented over a period of time in order to reflect growth and expansion of services. This, in turn, reflects the initial adequacy of the first founders to establish an organization capable of functioning within the dominant framework.

TABLE I
SERVICES PROVIDED FOR STUDENTS AND PARENTS*

	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68
I. <u>Aspira Club Program for Students</u>			
total membership in clubs	1,483	1,822	2,628
number of Aspira clubs	37	52	55
II. <u>Parent Federation</u>			
total membership	391	884	1,084
number of chapters	13	15	16

*Aspira Annual Report, 1966-67, p. 33; and Aspira Annual Report, 1967-68, p. 10 and p. 17.

¹²Ibid., p. 16.

These figures show significant growth when compared to the new intakes (student members) for the 1961-62 period of 152 and of 428 for the following year.

Financial Information

Foundation aid, governmental grants, corporate sponsorship, and individual or communal donations are the main sources of support for Aspira. The total operating budget for the fiscal period ending June 30, 1968 was about \$700,000. Growth is shown when this is compared to the budget figure of approximately \$100,000 for the 1963-64 fiscal year.¹³

The introduction and expansion of the scholarship program is reflected in increased enrollment in colleges other than municipal and state schools as shown in the next table. The other sources of aid obtained through the help of Aspira will be found in Table III.

TABLE II
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL PLACEMENT SURVEY*

I. Students entering colleges of City University	1967 146	1968 137
II. Students entering colleges of State University	21	60
III. Students entering Private Institutions	127	223

*Aspira Annual Report, 1967-68, p. 48.

¹³Aspira Annual Report, 1963-64, op. cit., p. 21.

TABLE III
1968 SOURCE OF FINANCIAL AID TO STUDENTS SUMMARY*

Educational Opportunity grants	34,260
Institutional Grants	33,723
Private Awards	3,576
National Defense Student Loans	27,300
New York State Student Loans	57,900
New York State Regents Scholarships	12,605
Scholar Incentive Awards	18,735
Work Study Program	8,810
Summer Program	-----
Special Programs	22,940
Aspira Awards	3,100
Institutional Loans	300
G.I. Bill	4,050

The total amount granted as of July 1, 1968 was \$208,564.
*Aspira Annual Report, 1967-68, p. 49.

Self Help Orientation

At the outset of this chapter, it was stated that Aspira performs certain broad functions similar to those performed by earlier immigrant organizations regarding their contribution to acculturation as presented in chapter two. Aspira, most similar to the groups in the self-help category, enables the Aspirantes (name for student members) to adapt to institutional role playing, a means to acculturation in a country characterized by manifold formal, associational roles in the civic, political, economic, and social spheres, through planning for the formation of the clubs, being responsible for the election of officers and maintaining the on-going processes of their own organization.

In a manner similar to the older self-help groups which attempted to respond to the needs of their ethnic group, Aspira pursues programs aimed at raising the educational attainment of Puerto Rican youth in order to develop a mobile economic, social and occupational group which could provide a source of community oriented leaders.

In regard to the professional group staffing Aspira, the newcomers profit by the experience and knowledge of those of their own nationality group who preceded them. These professionals also represent role models for the student to emulate. Like the economic organizations covered in chapter two, Aspira aids its members by familiarizing them with the mainland requirements for diverse professions. In general, all of these functions contribute to acculturation.

The next chapter will deal with the implications of this type of group in regard to acculturation and mobility. The last chapter will deal with the variables affecting a group's ability to organize in an indirect manner.

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

Introduction

Relative to some other past, immigrant groups, the Puerto Ricans had made minimal advancements in initiating and developing ethnic organizations of the type discussed in chapter two. Aspira was examined, and it was found to be one of the first organizations performing functions similar to the ethnic organizations of past immigrants. This development calls for an analysis of the factors which have hindered the development of this type of self-help organization. Certain precedent conditions must be sought which account for the development or lack of development of these groups.

The lack of these developments requires an articulation of the process by which acculturation, mobility, and ethnic communities are related to leadership, and in turn, the manner in which leadership is related to self-help organizations. This chapter will further elucidate the relationship between a group's ability to form indigenous organizations and the traits which characterize the group at the time of immigration.

Organization of the Chapter

The chapter will begin with a definition of the ethnic group as a social form and the ethnic community as an adaptive institution. The effect of organizational development within ethnic communities will be examined and related to indigenous leadership and mobility. A framework will evolve that is capable of explaining the basic trends that have hindered the development of ethnic organizations within the Puerto Rican community and the factors responsible for the formation of a group like Aspira.

The Ethnic Group as a Social Form

The ethnic group evolved as "a new social form."¹ The wide application of an ethnic label to a group and its individual members is not based on biological purity. Its significance is social. Those who escape the group by changing their ethnic label or by approximating the characteristics of the old stock American² are not of importance to this study.

The social significance and consequences of ethnicity may persist after foreign distinctions are shed, when other

¹Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1963), p. 16.

²Ibid.

ties function to continue the connection of the individual to the ethnic group. In addition to primary ties that are maintained with friends and with the family group, another important connection that may persist is that of interest. The ethnic group functions as an interest group because of shared experiences and the similar socio-economic backgrounds of the members. Their needs are consequently similar. This interest crystallizes in response to any event or legislation that appears to affect the group.³

For the purposes of this study, an ethnic group will be considered as one "whose values and behavior are variants of the dominant pattern."⁴ The significance of minority status in relation to this problem is that in terms of power, the ethnic group is in a subordinate position in relation to the dominant group. This differential distribution of power is recognized by the dominant and minority groups and is reflected in their attitudes.⁵

The resulting situation, in the absence of other developments, is one in which the minority group member may desire to lose this status by leaving the group. Gould-

³Ibid., p. 17.

⁴Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1962), p. 26.

⁵Alvin W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 188.

ner further suggests that the disadvantages associated with minority group status encourages the members to shed ethnic characteristics and adopt the characteristics associated with the dominant group.⁶ The author by not taking cognizance of the alternative reactions that can occur in response to ethnic status, discounts their importance.

In contrast, it is possible that affiliation to an ethnic group can compose a positive identity and can facilitate the initial stages of acculturation when certain developments take place. The developments with which this study is concerned occur within the scope of the ethnic community.

The ethnic group, as a social form characterized by primary relations of those sharing similar interests and backgrounds, must be evaluated against the background of the ethnic community. Ethnic groups can become instruments of adaptation depending on the manner in which the ethnic community functions.

The Ethnic Community as an Adaptive Institution

The term community defines a local group composed of the total of social relationships and more complex social systems enclosed in its geographic bounds. It is the or-

⁶ Ibid.

which change can occur will become evident in this analysis.

If the term ethnic community is to have any analytic value, distinctions must be made concerning the mode of organization. Two categories of significant relationships can be distinguished. The first is primary relationships or informal ones. The second structural aspect refers to formal relationships, of a voluntary type, to ethnic organizations. I will introduce the term "functional ethnic community" to define the community which includes the first type of relationship as well as an array of formal, ethnic organizations which significantly affect the rate of acculturation and mobility of its members.

Organizational ties were instrumental in transforming the ethnic group in New York into a new social form capable of giving order to the existence of the immigrants. The newcomers, arriving with disadvantages stemming from an alien culture, a foreign language or a different race, gained emotional succor through their own organizations as well as other benefits.¹¹ A more detailed accounting of the role of voluntary organizations will follow.

¹¹Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 18.

Structural Differences Among Ethnic Communities

The first emergent ties that appear during the incipient stages of the formation of an ethnic community are the informal ties of social relations that do perform a supportive, emotional functions. These ties do not constitute a cohesive enough social order to counteract the effects of disorganization resulting from alienation or the frustration arising from the negative attitudes of the dominant group. The type of community that does evolve is crucial in determining the future adjustment of the group and its ability to counteract the strains of immigration and upheaval.

Let us look at the situation of a group that lacks pervasive organization. A perusal of Senior and Padilla's work attests to the lack of pervasive organizations, as well as Handlin who states that in "their communal life, . . . Puerto Ricans are farthest removed from the experiences of earlier immigrant groups." Although this group does "find outlets for conviviality, gossip, friendship and sporadic mutual aid in neighborhood cliques," it has "not developed the integrated pattern of voluntary organizations that gave their predecessors understanding of the problems of metropolitan life and aid in dealing with them."¹²

¹²Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 105.

Beyond the initial stages of informal relationships, this attests to the lack of corollary developments in the Puerto Rican communities in comparison to the situation of earlier immigrant groups. This divergence in the structural development of an ethnic community is a critical factor in hindering vertical mobility in the occupational, economic and educational spheres. The term "functional ethnic community" refers to the contrasting development of ethnic societies which contribute to the maintenance and attainment of goals by the group's members.

The Relationship of Ethnic Organizations to Mobility and Leadership Development

In chapter two, there was an examination of the many different types of societies and the specific ways in which they facilitated acculturation. Acculturation was defined in the first chapter as an alternative mode of adaptive response. It refers to changes on two levels, the attitudinal and the behavioral, although the individual still retains identification with the subgroup. The same variables that affect acculturation affect mobility, because the ease with which a person is able to acculturate determines his ability to change his rank within other hierarchies such as the occupational, educational, and economic. Status, using occupation as one satisfactory indicator,

will be related to the broad functions performed by ethnic associations and will also be related to leadership development.

Let our point of departure be an examination of the lack of this development in the Puerto Rican community. They did not establish a system of associations to give aid to the unfortunate and to educate their members on how to deal with the problematic situations and complexity of a vast, urban metropolis. There was no parallel development to the voluntary agencies with philanthropic aims of the nineteenth century immigrants.¹³ Although there are resources within the Puerto Rican community, they have not been "equivalent to the cultural and social resources available to earlier groups at a comparable state of development."¹⁴ In extensiveness and function the new forms do not nearly duplicate the earlier forms.

The outcome is that the Puerto Rican cannot be extensively serviced within his own group and lacks many services provided by past ethnic organizations, in spite of the growth of the welfare state. Governmental agencies began to take responsibility, in the lack of indigenous organizations, for certain obligations that older groups

¹³Ibid., pp. 105-106.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 106.

had borne.¹⁵

Let us now turn to a contrasting situation and to an examination of the broad functions provided for by the ethnic organizations, especially with the latent effects. The term "ethnic organizational acculturation" will be used to differentiate acculturation fostered through ethnic societies, within the framework of the ethnic community, from the occurrence of this process in outside institutions of the dominant system and through informal relationships. The emphasis will be on the manner in which these organizations were functional in contributing to other processes associated with acculturation.

These voluntary associations formulated through the efforts of ethnic groups were a significant factor in contributing to changes in behavior patterns and "in bringing about the changes in personality desired by the larger society, at a maximum rate of speed, with an economy of effort on the part of the dominant group, and at a relatively low cost in suffering to those undergoing 'conversion.'"¹⁶ Treudley also notes that this statement is not applicable to the greatly disadvantaged groups, including

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁶ Mary Bosworth Treudley, 'Formal Organization and the Americanization Process, with Special Reference to the Greeks of Boston,' American Sociological Review, XIV (February, 1949), p. 45.

the Puerto Ricans.¹⁷

In placing these statements in a conceptual scheme "personality changes" are those behavioral and attitudinal changes that a person undergoes in the process of acculturation, and disadvantaged refers to a low rating on the profile of characteristics associated with a minority group at the time of arrival. If the premises taken in this paper are correct, this low profile will account for the lack of development of leadership and ethnic organizations. Acculturation, mobility and social class will be variables dependent on acculturative variables, or, as stated, the profile of characteristics.

One step in the process of shedding ethnicity and replacing it with 'an American personality is the transference of a large part of . . . leisure time from the clique to the club.'¹⁸ Participation in these ethnic organizations was a part of acculturation, because it meant involvement in the election of leadership, recording minutes, dues collections and learning about procedural aspects of meetings such as the formulation of motions and debate. These were aspects of the associational form, common to the dominant system.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 45-46.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 46.

As the groups developed, the membership acquired the skill necessary to utilize the formal organizational network, in an instrumental fashion, in order to achieve shared goals.¹⁹ This also provided a learning situation wherein those with leadership qualities gained skill, institutional awareness and ability, characteristics which contributed to their mobility outside of the ethnic community. The presence of these societies could speed up mobility and their absence could slow down the process.

Participation in these organizations facilitates acculturation in other ways as well. If an individual takes on responsibility in the creation and administration of an ethnic organization, including building of the plant, financing on-going activities and other aspects, he is involved in decision making. The ability to make decisions is considered to be a segment of the personality structure that has undergone the process of Americanization.²⁰

The next point will be concerned with the contribution made by these voluntary organizations in counteracting disorganization and disruption, processes associated with resettlement. They function to cushion the shock of transition by simulating some of the familiar aspects of the

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., p. 47.

previous social setting, thereby mediating against widespread personality disorganization resulting from estrangement.²¹

Another function of importance is the contribution made to the cohesion of the group. As the individuals of an ethnic group become involved in other social areas and disperse throughout different levels in the class structure, informal ties decline through the loss of shared experiences. In the absence of these groups, leadership would be syphoned away from the ethnic community at a more rapid pace. The tendency for informal relationships to dissolve and for the leadership to disperse along class lines would be more intense in the case where the ethnic group is scattered throughout an urban area. The voluntary association provides the occasion and the physical setting for continued interaction. The leadership, in turn, gains certain rewards by maintaining their ties to the group. Their success is attested to and rewarded through the group's recognition.²²

The benefit for the less mobile members stems partly from the satisfaction they achieve by being associated with and publicly recognized by the more successful members.

²¹ Ibid., p. 49.

²² Ibid., p. 50.

They identify with this strata and try to emulate them as role models. The example of the leaders provides an incentive to the group's members to adopt the personality characteristics approved by the majority. Characteristics that were associated with the American society were quickly absorbed and adopted by the leadership. The organizations usually became Americanized over time, and the leaders proceeded in this direction at a faster pace than the general membership. The influence of the new society then affected the followers who imitated their leaders, who were in advance of them.²³

On the whole, these organizations provide a series of experiences which modify personality responses. The personality is in a state of transition during the process of acculturation. The awkwardness of this situation increases self consciousness and produces overwhelming inferiority feelings. In the context of the ethnic organization, new behavioral traits and patterns can be practiced at different levels of refinement, unconsciously, within the familiar group, before the new role is per-

²³Ibid.

formed in strange surroundings.²⁴

The members with ability, in turn, are provided with a situation in which they can practice the techniques of leadership including problem solving within the sphere of American society and other techniques utilized in an associational setting, a structure common to the host culture. The transition from participation in the leadership role in these organizations to involvement in other organizations of the dominant system is facilitated through this role training.²⁵

The Significance of the Rise of Indigenous Leadership

In the development of ethnic organizations from loosely structured, informal groups into the associational form a leadership strata emerges. The ability of the group to generate this strata is an indication of the three inter-related processes of acculturation, mobility, and social class because of the qualifications that an effective leader must possess. This subgroup is the element which can deal most effectively with the problems of the group. This is the group which has acculturated most successfully and are the most mobile. They are the strata which is accepted by the dominant power structure as representatives of their

²⁴Ibid., p. 53

²⁵Ibid.

group. It is then understandable that the development of an intergroup leadership strata is an indication of acculturation and mobility.

It is the group which is mobile which formulates further adaptive instruments, namely the ethnic organizations which provide the situation for others of the emerging, mobile group to achieve leadership. Ethnic organizational acculturation is an overlapping and continuous process, wherein developments in one facet such as the organizations contributes to the other facets of hastening acculturation, furthering mobility and encouraging the rise of a leadership strata, which, in turn, contributes to the group's ability to acculturate. It is a circular process, wherein the group's initial ability to organize greatly enhances their ability to acculturate. Ethnic organizational acculturation is an inclusive term referring to the manner in which these processes interrelate to speed of acculturation, especially changes in behavioral patterns.

The relationship of the leadership in terms of the benefits derived has been covered, but the significance of this strata finds its greatest importance in regard to the dominant group. The leaders function as a liaison between the dominant and minority groups.²⁶

²⁶Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), p. 1133.

If a group lacks indigenous leadership capable of communicating its needs to the dominant group, we can hypothesize that their needs will not be met as effectively as they could if this strata was functioning, and this will slow down the process of acculturation. If the situation of the Puerto Ricans is reviewed, it is seen that the economic and social goals of the group, for the most part, can only be achieved through participation in the dominant society, thus establishing the role of leaders as liaison agents. In this role, they maintain contact between systems in order to facilitate concerted action to meet the needs of the group toward further acculturation.

The dominant group will permit access to and open the channels of the social system to certain members of the minority that have achieved a degree of mobility.²⁷ Myrdal cites a "close correlation between leadership and class position."²⁸ The leaders are culturally like the dominant group and are consequently acceptable to the power holders. There is a correlation between acculturation and the class structure, wherein the "classes represent various degrees of acculturation to dominant American culture patterns."²⁹

²⁷Ibid., p. 725.

²⁸Ibid., p. 727.

²⁹Ibid., p. 727-728.

Therefore, we can conclude that the presence of a leadership strata is dependent on a precondition which is vertical mobility in the occupational, economic, and educational hierarchies. We can then predict that if the size of the middle class is small, this fact will retard the development and emergence of a leadership strata.

The effect of this cycle becomes persistently more critical along with the increasing complexity of society. The advancement of interests is dependent on the leadership's ability to communicate and work within the framework of a group. On the whole, leadership is related to group effectiveness.³⁰

Certain trends characteristic of industrialization indicate that the leader must have certain skills and proficiencies including the ability to function in a complex, hierarchical organization. In the context of American society, the benefit of associational skills, those that are gained by the mobile members in the process of ethnic organizational acculturation are obvious.

In sum, stratification is important in understanding leadership within a minority group, because it is generally the upper echelon which achieves leadership.³¹ The goals

³⁰Bernard M. Bass, Leadership, Psychology and Organizational Behavior (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 3,5.

³¹Caroline F. Ware, Greenwich Village (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), p. 189.

of the group can be achieved through participation in the dominant system. In order to achieve these goals, the leader begins to emulate the characteristics of the dominant group, because high rank, a function of mobility, is a prerequisite for making him acceptable.

The problem then arises of what conditions prevail in the absence of this mobile group or when it is too small to be effective in instituting social change. The Puerto Ricans have what is considered to be a small middle class.³³ The following labor breakdown attests to this fact.

TABLE IV
Occupational Status of Employed Puerto Rican Males in 1960
in New York City*

	Born in Puerto Rico	Mainland Born of Puerto Rican Parentage
Professional, technical and kindred workers	1.8	7.4
Managers, officials and proprietors	3.7	4.0
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	11.4	23.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	10.8	16.3
Operatives and kindred workers	45.2	29.7
Non-household service workers	21.1	12.8
Household service workers	0.1	0.2
Laborers	6.0	6.0

*The Puerto Rican Forum, Incorporated, "The Puerto Rican Community of New York: A Statistical Profile, The Puerto Rican Development Project (New York: Puerto Rican Forum, 1964), p. 62.

³³Glazer and Moynihan, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

When the mobile element is small in comparison to the masses, it may create a situation wherein only those with political desires will retain ties with the local group, feel responsible for it, and be willing to occupy the role of indigenous leader. The other mobile members may be siphoned off into the mainstream, adopting the rationale that numerically they are too insignificant to have an impact upon their group. The likelihood of this attitude increases when the group status is a hindrance to mobility.³⁴

It can then be concluded that success in adjustment is dependent on many factors and developments, which we have reviewed. The case of the Puerto Ricans is one of a greatly disadvantaged group. Aspira represents the incipient stage in organizational development, a stage that is retarded according to the material presented in this chapter. The meaning of these statements will be related to acculturative variables in the next chapter.

³⁴ Ware, op. cit., p. 166.

CHAPTER VII

ACCULTURATIVE VARIABLES AND SUMMARY

Introduction

The information that has been presented attests to the weakness of indigenous organization in the Puerto Rican community. The dependence of ethnic organizations upon a functioning ethnic community, and, in turn, the community's dependence on mobile leaders reflected the importance of acculturation. Based on the relationships elucidated in the last chapter and the data presented in this one, it can now be asserted that the greater the group's initial ability to acculturate, the greater the likelihood that they will form indigenous organizations without great delay.¹ Further, it can also be stated that a certain degree of acculturation and the formation of a middle class leadership strata must precede the development of viable, indigenous organizations like Aspira.

Differential rates of acculturations reflect the conditions of American society, the ease with which certain groups were accepted, the attitudes and goals of the dominant group and the attributes of the migrant group. The aim

¹For information on comparable development of different ethnic groups at various stages, see: Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959).

of this chapter is to examine the profile of attributes of the Puerto Ricans. In part the experiences of a group differed, because the ethnic group differed in these critical aspects.

It was pointed out that in most situations, a minority group must participate in the dominant system in order to achieve their goals. The likelihood of success in this venture is diminished in the case of a greatly disadvantaged group as was pointed out in the last chapter. This can be interpreted in a more concise manner as one that has a low rank on those variables that can be associated with the relative ease or difficulty with which a group is expected to acculturate, especially in the early stages of migration.

This chapter will be the final step in elucidating the relationship between a group's ability to form indigenous organizations and acculturation. The intermediate steps have been examined. The problem of this chapter is to present the critical variables and through the examination of substantive data to select the relevant data which would indicate the relative Puerto Rican position on this profile. I will try to keep this simple so that a similar procedure could be applied with available material to other groups for further confirmation of the aforementioned relationships.

The difficulty of this task is increased by the scarcity

of testable definitions provided by the studies dealing with acculturation, the enormity of the problem, and the profusion of elusive definitions, all of which is further compounded by a "shocking lack of facts"² pertaining to the situation of the Puerto Rican on the mainland.

Data Organization

In some situations the examination of certain characteristics is sufficient to indicate the existence of a complex of behavioral patterns as will be shown in Warner and Srole's interpretation of the cultural impact of religion. Certain attitudes may also be indicators of predispositions to a related constellation of behavioral patterns. As a result, information will be kept brief and will deal with the most critical indicators of certain crucial variables. The type of information used for the indicators is that which should be available for other minority groups making retesting for further confirmation possible.

It is asserted that the relative standing of a group on a profile of acculturative variables is one method of predicting the speed of acculturation. As previously stated, many changing conditions of the dominant society

²The New York Times, May 22, 1968, p. 94.

will affect this process, making it necessary to limit the problem and to preface all information by the remark 'all other conditions being equal."

Previous Work on Acculturation

A review of some of the relevant studies dealing with this area reveals a variety of approaches to this process. As a result, it was necessary to carefully evaluate the approaches in order to present a combination of critical variables that would be sufficient to indicate the Puerto Rican's position in relation to those characteristics likely to affect acculturation and other related processes. Some of the more relevant findings will be summarized as evidence of the validity of the approach taken in this chapter. Previous chapters confirmed the assertion that, if a group is successful in the preliminary stages of acculturation, they will be more likely to form indigenous groups. These organizations were found to be adaptive instruments which implement further acculturation and mobility.

In an article dealing with the factors affecting the rate of acculturation, Weinstock concludes that certain prior variables that are independent are positively related to acculturation. The term used in this study for this type of variable will be acculturative variable. Weinstock

approaches to the study of acculturation. Having these approaches, ranging from a psychoanalytic viewpoint to a historical perspective, he writes that the use of the term acculturation has been inconsistent, at times being used interchangeably with such terms as accommodation, assimilation, and absorption.

Furthermore, most of the studies dealing with acculturation were done by anthropologists with a limited amount being done by sociologists.³ He defines acculturation broadly as "the process of becoming more American-like."⁴ The critical changes are in attitudes, personality, behavior, and values.⁴

In dealing with the variables determining the rate of acculturation, Lieberson asserts that the differential occupational composition of ethnic groups, which is one indicator of mobility, is dependent on differences in ethnic

³S. Alexander Weinstock, "Some Factors that Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation," Human Relations, XVII (No. 4, 1964), p. 322.

⁴Ibid., pp. 321-340.

group traits regarding the differential distribution of education, preadapted skills, and training as well as fluctuations in the economy controlling the rise and decline in demand for certain skills.⁵

He does not give a final definition of the processes associated with adjustment, except to say that assimilation, a more advanced stage than acculturation, can be "applied to a wide range of ethnic changes and generally with implied direction towards greater 'homogeneity.'"⁶

The approach taken by Milton Gordon is more concise and analytical than Lieberson's. Acculturation is deemed a condition or a subprocess of assimilation.⁷ It refers to behavioral and cultural assimilation. In his scheme, acculturation is synonymous with the term cultural assimilation, which is most likely to be the first step taken toward assimilation by a minority group.⁸

John Macisco, in turn, stresses certain limitations to be found in studying a group's adjustment. Weinstock pointed to the dearth of quantification or attempts to measure acculturation. Macisco also points to the lack of

⁵Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 16.

⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁷Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

⁸Ibid., p. 77.

precision and unresolved methodological problems in this area. As a result, any conclusions made must be relative, because available criteria dealing with assimilation cannot conclusively state that the process has been rapid or slow. However, data can be developed which reflects the differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of a minority with the overall United States' averages. Trends in the direction of these averages can be discerned implying a movement toward assimilation.⁹

The viewpoint proposed by Rosen stresses value orientations as important determinants of behavior in ethnic groups. He suggests that certain configurations of attitudes and values, considered to be aspects of the achievement syndrome, influence the individuals' choice of goals and are significantly related to behavior likely to increase or decrease mobility. He concludes that the values of immigrants, in part, explain the differential rates of social mobility and educational or vocational aspirations.¹⁰

In conclusions, the work on this topic does have one common denominator which is agreement that acculturation is a critical, initial stage of adjustment that affects later stages and developments. Vertical mobility, affected

⁹John J. Macisco, Jr., "Assimilation of the Puerto Ricans on the Mainland," The International Migration Review, II (Spring, 1968), 21-29.

¹⁰Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), pp. 52-57.

by the same factors as acculturation) is significantly related to the ability of ethnic and racial groups to organize effectively in order to protect and further their interests.¹¹ In the conceptual framework presented in the last chapter, the ability to organize becomes a valuable characteristic dependent on the profile of acculturative variables that will be presented in this chapter.

It follows then that the Acculturative Variables the fact that the acculturative process also must

In dealing with these variables, it was necessary to choose among a wide variety of approaches, to incorporate the most appropriate variables and to try not to be confining. The methodological requirements of a study are determined by its particular needs. In this study, there was a need for a delineated system of variables. The variables used will be: (1) dispersion-concentration and size, (2) education and preadapted skills, (3) racial composition, (4) cultural background, (5) attitudes and values, (6) permanency outlook, and (7) proximity to homeland.

Previous conclusions made in this study dealing with indigenous groups and their leadership ~~revealed~~ revealed that acceptance of a group and its leaders is eased when it ap-

¹¹ James Alexander Barden, American Minority Relations (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1966), p. 292. Pre., 1947, p. 102

pears to be similar to what may be termed the "American type" or "old stock American." In dealing with this concept, heavy reliance is placed on the research of Warner and Srole, and the interpretation of their work by others. In placing their work in my framework, assimilation will be viewed as an inclusive concept composed of acculturation to and integration into the majority society. Acculturation must precede integration.¹² It follows then that the factors that slow the acculturative process also must curb status advance,¹³ because status advance requires immersion or integration into the dominant structures of society.

Heavy reliance will also be placed on Rosen's work with attitudes and values. The resulting scheme of variables will be presented along with the material that will be deemed a satisfactory indicator of the Puerto Rican's relative position on that variable. Overall, it will be expected that the relative position can be interpreted, in part, as an explanation for the initial ability or inability of the group to go through a series of processes leading towards the formation of indigenous organizations.

¹²Ibid., p. 301.

¹³W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. T02.

Concerning the application of this scheme to the Puerto Ricans as opposed to earlier migrant groups, it can be stated that the increasing complexity of society, the rise in demand for skilled and professional workers along with the declining demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers, and the shift from rudimentary social forms associated with rural life to the intricacies of urban existence increase the importance of these variables in affecting acculturation in more recent periods of immigration.

Profile of the Puerto Ricans on Variables Affecting the Speed of Acculturation

Acculturation is associated with the relearning of roles. Groups differ in characteristics which are likely to promote or inhibit this ability affecting acculturation. When the behavioral characteristics, attitudes, and the ancestral culture of a migrant group are similar to the American patterns, these characteristics will accelerate acculturation. Of course, other conditions and fluctuations of dominant institutions and attitudes affect the rate of acculturation. In consideration of this, the discussion of all variables should be prefaced with the introductory phrase, "other things being equal."¹⁴ Following

¹⁴Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1962), p. 93.

are a list of variables that are widely accepted as factors which affect acculturation. Related variables will be discussed together.

Dispersion-Concentration and Size Variables

A large population in proportion to the native population will inhibit acculturation and may be perceived as a threat. The larger they are, the more likely they will be perceived as a threat.¹⁵

Concentration over a prolonged period is related to slow acculturation, because it magnifies visibility, perpetuates insulation of ancestral customs, and encourages in-marriage. There is a definite concentration of Puerto Ricans in the northeastern part of the United States. It contains 84 per cent of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland¹⁶ Of the 900,000 Puerto Ricans residing on the mainland in 1960, 75 per cent lived in New York City indicating a trend towards concentration on a citywide basis. Of the approximately 612,000 Puerto Ricans residing in New York City at that time, two thirds lived in the boroughs of Manhattan composing 13.3 and 13.1 per cent of these boroughs respectively.¹⁷ There is a tendency to concentrate and the size

¹⁵Vander Zanden, op. cit., pp. 310-311.

¹⁶Macisco, op. cit., p. 25.

¹⁷Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, A Summary in Facts and Figures (New York: Migration Division of Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 1965), p. 17.

of the migrant group is large in relation to the host population. The latest available figures show a continuance of these tendencies.¹⁸

Education and Preadapted Skills Variables

The relation of upward mobility to leadership was discussed in the last chapter. Upward mobility, pertaining to change in class position, refers to the achievement of social goals. This implies securing economic well-being and status through competition with others.¹⁹ Occupation is strongly dependent on prior education, and education as a variable has the most significant implications for assimilation.²⁰

Considering the advanced educational requirements in a highly technological economy, the Puerto Ricans are disadvantaged. In 1960, the median of school years completed by the migrants was 8.4 years for males and 8.2 years for females.²¹ Because class divisions are characterized by differences in educational attainment, income and occupation,²² the lack of prior education inhibits

¹⁸New York State Division of Human Rights, Puerto Ricans in New York State, 1960-1969 (New York: New York State Division of Human Rights, 1969), pp. 5-7.

¹⁹Marden and Meyer, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁰Macisco, op. cit., p. 26.

²¹Ibid.

²²Marden and Meyer, op. cit., p. 139.

mobility.

Turning to the skills variable, the differential occupational composition is dependent on preadapted skills along with training and education.²³ Again, the Puerto Rican is ill-prepared for the demands of a highly technological economy. Radical changes in the United States' economy after 1930 greatly affected the demand for unskilled labor. The great Puerto Rican influx coincided with a decreasing need for unskilled labor.

The following breakdown reflects the fact that many Puerto Ricans were ill-equipped to participate in an occupational structure with a great demand for skilled workers. Of those who migrated, 18 per cent were skilled, 40 per cent were semi-skilled and 21 per cent were unskilled.²⁴ The 61 per cent in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories had preadapted skill ratings which were not likely to accelerate acculturation.

Racial Variable

Racial visibility is the most powerful inhibitor of acculturation.²⁵ Slow acculturation is associated with

²³Lieberson, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁴Clarence Senior, "The Puerto Ricans in the United States," Understanding Minority Groups, Joseph B. Gittler editor (New York: John Wiley, 1956), p. 114.

²⁵Marden and Meyer, op. cit., p. 460.

racial differences. This variable is especially critical, because "unless the host society changes its method of evaluation . . . racial groups are doomed to a permanent inferior ranking."²⁶

In regard to race, Warner and Srole assert that 'the greater the racial difference, the greater the subordination.'²⁷ Persistent or prolonged subordination, in the framework instituted by this paper, is comparable to retardation of acculturation and vertical mobility.

They established five racial categories for evaluating the position of the group and the corresponding expectation for length of subordination. The race types are: (1) Light Caucasoid (a category most similar to the old stock American) (2) Dark Caucasoids, (3) Mixture of Mongoloid and Caucasoid, (4) Mongoioids and racially mixed who appear Mongoloid, and (5) Negroids and all Negroid mixtures.²⁸

The Puerto Ricans range from black to white and include every intermediate shade. They are aware of gradients on the island but not to the extent of mainland consciousness or discrimination.²⁹ Discrimination slows

²⁶Warner and Srole, op. cit., p. 285.

²⁷Ibid., p. 286.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Puerto Ricans in Perspective: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland," The International Migration Review, II (Spring, 1968), 11.

Puerto Ricans on the mainland were classified as non-white
ever, this was an item that the respondents filled in

collectors filled in this item, the figures were 13 and 8 per cent respectively.³⁰ Even though the last census indicated that only 4 per cent were colored, "many more than that bear some indication of the mixture of white and black that has been going on in the island for centuries."³¹ In general, "most Puerto Ricans, especially the poorer ones, are biologically or racially visible."³²

According to the above statements, racial visibility is widespread among the Puerto Ricans. In the case of those Puerto Ricans who show discernible negroid characteristics, it can be concluded that this group, least similar to the ideal old stock American, will require the longest period for acculturation because of prolonged subordination. Imposed subordination can be predicted for any members who are racially visible.

³⁰ Macisco, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

³¹ Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1964), pp. 114-115.

³² Marden and Meyer, op. cit., p. 150.

Cultural Variable

Similar patterns of social organization between the host society and the ancestral country will accelerate acculturation. The approach taken by Warner and Srole to measure deviations involves two crucial indicators for analyzing differences from the host culture. They construct a descending scale which divides the ethnic culture into religious and language deviations. Religion is viewed as an aspect of culture. The foreign language and the ancestral religion were considered to be significant indicators because of their close association with many behavioral patterns and other general aspects of culture. Behavior patterns in the United States most closely approximate the English, as does our language.³³

The dominant religion of the old stock American is Protestantism, the outlook of which has had a pervasive effect in determining certain types of behavior.³⁴ Weber's general premises would tend to confirm the choice of religion as being significantly related to other behavioral patterns, especially the acquisitive drive.³⁵

Following is their scale of culture types in ascending

³³Warner and Srole, op. cit., pp. 284-287.

³⁴Ibid., p. 287.

³⁵For further information concerning the relationship of religion and other institutional behavior, see: Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

order of deviance: (1) Protestants who speak English, (2) Non-English speaking Protestants, (3) Catholics who speak English, (4) Non-English speaking non-Protestants and Catholics who do not speak English, (5) Non-Christians who do speak English, and (6) Non-Christians who do not speak English.³⁶

In this scale, the Puerto Ricans would be placed in the fourth diverging category as non-English speaking Catholics, implying cultural dissimilarities associated with both a language and religious impediment.

The two scales, the aforementioned scale of racial divergencies and the cultural deviation scale, when combined produce thirty racial-cultural categories. Relative position on the racial scale is more potent, because race is a stronger determinant of how a group is evaluated and ranked by the dominants. This is the scale entitled "Subordination and Assimilation."³⁷

If the Puerto Ricans were considered to be a Caucasoid mixture, it would be expected that their assimilation rate would be slow and their subordination would be great.³⁸ In placing the negroid Puerto Ricans in this scale, I found them to fit into the category which expects them to exper-

³⁶ Warner and Srole, op. cit., p. 287

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 287-288.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 288.

ience a very great degree of subordination, a very strong involvement in an ethnic racial sub-system, and a very slow rate of assimilation.

There is another aspect of the Catholic Church as an element of culture that must be considered if one is to understand the Puerto Rican position. This is the first Catholic group coming to the United States without an indigenous clergy accompanying them.³⁹ As a result, the ones that have remained committed to the Church have been dependent on an American clergy, and consequently lack "that penetrating sense of Catholic identity which comes from a deeply rooted and untroubled folk attachment to Catholicism,"⁴⁰ that had characterized past migrants.

The same church that had provided identity for past migrants, a basis for loyalties, and had been a focal point for creating a powerful community has relinquished these roles and plays a weak and ambiguous role in relation to the Puerto Ricans. The present policy of integration into the existing parish structure makes it impossible for a Puerto Rican community to be established around a religious focal point and church related activities.⁴¹

³⁹Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 9

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 11.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 11-12.

There is another cultural crisis that demands attention. There is cultural turmoil and disintegration of the traditional way of life on the island arising largely from the upheavals caused by speedy economic and industrial changes promoted through "operation bootstrap."⁴²

This is further compounded by the fact that less than half of the migrants are from urban areas.⁴³ Nor are these urban areas comparable to the vast metropolitan complexes on the mainland to which most Puerto Ricans migrate. The industrialized city noted for being impersonal, stresses materialistic and secular values. This makes it difficult to actualize the type of personal relationship characteristic of the Puerto Rican culture. This lack causes increased stress for the migrant.⁴⁴

Attitudes and Values

Groups differ in regard to aspiration and achievement related values. Differential rates of social mobility can, in part, be explained by different value orientations which are significantly related to behavior likely to increase or

⁴²Ibid., p. 10.

⁴³Macisco, op. cit., p. 26.

⁴⁴Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 19.

decrease social mobility. Values are decisive in influencing the choice of goals and are viewed as "meaningful and effectively charged modes of organizing behavior principles that guide human conduct."⁴⁵

Ethnic groups differ in attitudes towards child rearing that affect future achievement motivation. The socialization process may stress independence, high achievement goals, and high aspirations, all of which promote the desire to excel and foster the development of skills that are appropriate to an industrial setting. The possibility of social mobility is greatly enhanced when an achievement value orientation is internalized. The individual will be more likely to persist in behavior that will improve his status.

Certain related constellations of values reflect differences in achievement value orientations. The active orientation encompasses culture beliefs that reflect the idea that an individual can exercise control over his social condition for his own benefit and can, therefore, be mobile. The passive orientation would dwell on the futility of an

⁴⁵Rosen, op. cit., p. 53.

individual attempting to achieve change in his class position.

Secondly, there is a set of values dealing with an individual or a collective orientation towards achievement. In the first, individual incentives and personal rewards are of paramount importance. In the second orientation, personal gain is denied, and the individual is expected to submerge his own needs for the family and the group welfare.

A third element in this group of values is the time orientation aspect of culture. A society oriented towards the present extols the benefits of immediate gratification; whereas, a future oriented society promotes planning by stressing the value of future success. The desirability of this goal is considered to outweigh the sacrifice of present inconveniences. On the whole, the validity of these statements is reflected in the significant relationship between social class and achievement value orientation⁴⁶.

In general, there is very little in the historical development or in the culture of Puerto Rico that would foster the development of the values that place a high premium on achievement. The island does not have a deeply rooted or widespread tradition of valuing education.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 52-60.

Prior to annexation by the United States, Puerto Rico had a plantation economy with a two class system for the most part. There was a small upper class and a large group of peasants whose welfare was neglected by Spain.⁴⁷ This system was not fluid or oriented toward change or progress. It is understandable that this type of structure, lacking opportunity and mobility, would not have a value orientation of high achievement or high aspiration.

The lack of these values is part of the culture of poverty that is widespread in Puerto Rico. A great many of the problems of Puerto Ricans in New York have their origin in the slums of Puerto Rico.⁴⁸ Of those families who reported a monetary income in 1960, 80 per cent made less than \$3,000 and 43 per cent of those reported less than \$1,000, despite concentrated governmental programs for accelerating economic development.

The culture of poverty in which these people are involved develops during periods of transition^{and} of great technological change. It is a self perpetuating adaptation to society. In the process of socialization, "by the time slum children are aged six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture

⁴⁷ Marden and Meyer, op. cit., p. 145.

⁴⁸ Oscar Lewis, La Vida (New York: Random House, 1966), p. xi.

and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their life time.⁴⁹ Two of the traits that the children in this instance are likely to internalize are fatalism and a low level of aspiration, which are comparable to the passive orientation.⁵⁰

Other traits that are antithetical to those mentioned by Rosen are "a lack of impulse control, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future"⁵¹ along with feelings of resignation.

How does this affect their settlement in New York? They perpetuate their culture which makes their accommodation and assimilation very slow and difficult. Of especial significance to this study is the fact that they lack organization and do not participate in societal institutions. There is a minimum of organization above the extended family. The low level of organization that is associated with the traits of present-time orientation, fatalism, resignation, and inability to plan for future changes "gives the culture of poverty its marginal and

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⁴⁹ Ibid., p. xlvi.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. li.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. xlvi.

anachronistic quality in our highly complex, specialized, organized society.⁵² This situation is further compounded by the migrants' feelings of dependence, and inferiority and helplessness.⁵³

It must be concluded that the constellation of attitudes and values internalized by many Puerto Ricans contrasts with those values which would foster speedy acculturation. The acceptance of these values which are significantly related to behavior would tend to make acculturation difficult and mobility slow. It is understandable that they "predominate in the unskilled, dirty, and badly paid occupations," continue to "earn a disproportionately low share of the national income," and have gained 'little political power and no social prestige.'⁵⁴

Permanency Variable

Frequent visits back to Puerto Rico are possible because of the ease afforded by air travel and the low cost. New York is frequently thought of as a temporary home where a person can gain economic well being before returning to Puerto Rico. However, mobility will be retarded when mi-

⁵²Ibid., p. xlviit

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 105.

grants perceive the host society as a temporary settlement.⁵⁵ There would be a tendency on the part of the migrants to lessen commitment and to resist behavioral and attitudinal changes. Since mobility is a function of acculturation, this would tend to slow the development of a leadership group and indigenous organization.

The Puerto Ricans have strong ties to the island and "many would be hard put to say whether they belonged to the city or the island."⁵⁶ The records of the public school system are one indicator of the frequency of visits made between the city and the island. In the school year 1958-1959, there were 6,500 transfers of children going to Puerto Rico and 10,600 entries into the system from Puerto Rico.⁵⁷

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The migration pattern is considerably different from any that have preceded it, because it is a two way pattern. In 1960, close to a million trips were made by Puerto Ricans between New York and the island, although the net in-migration was only 20,000.⁵⁸ In sum, this two way migration and the related attitudes tend to slow acculturation.

⁵⁵Warner and Srole, op. cit., p. 102.

⁵⁶Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 100.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 100.

⁵⁸Oscar Lewis, op. cit., p. xii.

Proximity Variable

Where the distance is not great and access is readily available to the place of origin, acculturation is likely to be slower.⁵⁹ Frequent visits tend to reinforce prior behavioral patterns, cultural practices, and beliefs. They also tend to lessen identification and the intensity of commitment and involvement in the new settlement. When migrants are able to return home with ease, this can slow down acculturation, because it creates a situation in which variant values towards mobility and individual incentive may be reinforced.⁶⁰

It has even been suggested that the island, less than four hours away by air, is the new focal point of identity, performing the function that the Church had performed for many of the earlier groups.⁶¹ Again, the relative Puerto Rican position on this variable mediates against speedy acculturation, as it did on all of the others that were examined.

Some General Comments on Puerto Rican Acculturation

Many variables or behavioral determinants influence

⁵⁹Warner and Srole, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

⁶⁰Vander Zanden, op. cit., pp. 276, 313.

⁶¹Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 12.

the rate that a group will acculturate. The more crucial ones have been examined, especially those affecting urban adjustment in an industrialized setting. Some general comments and expectations will now be examined.

In dealing with acculturation as the behavioral and cultural sub-process of assimilation, according to Gordon's scheme, the Puerto Ricans can be 'designated as being substantially unassimilated culturally.'⁶² This is a critical point, because acculturation is most likely to be the first step taken toward assimilation by a minority group.⁶³ As a result, 'there are signs that the development of a strong middle class contingent will not be as rapid as in the case of the European' due to prejudice and "indigenous cultural factors,"⁶⁴ which have been examined in this chapter. In consequence, a strong trend toward acculturation cannot be predicted at this point with the continued persistence of ecological concentration in the city and their prevalence in low ranking occupations.

It can be stated that the greater part of the migrants do not know what the tasks are for acquiring middle class status in the opportunity structure and remain unaided by

⁶²Gordon, op. cit., p. 75.

⁶³Ibid., p. 77.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 107.

an extensive network of ethnic organizations that could perform this function.

It has also been widely stated that many other minority groups have developed ways to handle this, but that the Puerto Rican does not have to with the vast amount of public aid and services available. However, I have pointed to the loss to the minority group that does not develop ethnic organizations and therefore lacks the gains resulting from 'ethnic organizational acculturation.'

<This brings us to Aspira which is one of the first developments of its kind. Although acculturation has been slow and consequently hindered the emergence of this type of organization, there is evidence of the formation of a small middle class, especially evident among the second generation who view the United States as their permanent homeland.⁶⁵ >This middle class is the group that has been able to acculturate. This relates to mobility, because "the socio-economic class of the individual . . . is largely a function of his degree of acculturation."⁶⁶ Evidence of occupational mobility supporting the contention of the rise of a middle class is reflected in table IV on page 89, showing the differential occupational break-

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65The New York Times, April 23, 1968, p. 49.

66Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 49.

down of the group born in Puerto Rico and the group born in the United States. Although the group is small, it can no longer be said that the Puerto Ricans lack a middle class. Nor can it be said that this group is insignificant when a development like Aspira is examined.

The progress made by the Puerto Ricans is still comparatively slow in a system that permits an excess of upward over downward mobility because of a decreasing need for unskilled labor and an expanding demand for workers in the skilled and professional categories. This chapter has established great dissimilarities among the behavioral determinants and variables affecting the Puerto Rican and those that are associated with speedy acculturation in the urban-industrial complex. This presents a barrier for effective participation in the opportunity structure and adversely affects mobility, thereby retarding the development of a leadership strata and ethnic organizations. It is predicted that "unlike earlier waves of immigrants, the Irish, the Jews and the Italians, the Puerto Ricans are not likely to become fully assimilated in their second generation," and "that chances are that large segments even of their third generation will remain a bilingual and bicultural group."⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ The New York Times, April 23, 1968, p. 49.

In sum, I have shown that ethnic organizations are an indicator of acculturation and an accelerator of mobility. It can be expected that as the Puerto Ricans become more successful in these organizational ventures the group as a whole will benefit. Their proliferation can be expected to correlate with the projected slow rise of a middle class strata, acting as liaisons, helping their group to obtain their goals of mobility, through participation in the dominant system. The confirmation of these expectations provides an opportunity for further study. The development of Puerto Rican organizations should further be observed in order to see if their emergence corresponds to a slow, but discernible pattern of occupational mobility in the second and third generation Puerto Ricans.

Brief Summary of Major Points

The problem of this thesis was to determine the trends and variables that have affected the formation of an indigenously led, ethnic organization named Aspira. Through the examination of the interrelationship of several processes and concepts, the study devised an understanding of the relationship of acculturative variables to ethnic organizations, which could be applied to the Puerto Rican situation.

Acculturative variables were found to determine to a

large degree the initial ability of an ethnic group to acculturate. Mobility was found to be largely a function of the degree of acculturation. It was further asserted and confirmed in the Puerto Rican situation that mobility is a prerequisite for capable, intergroup leaders. There is a positive relation between class rank, which is an aspect of mobility, and ethnic leadership. Thus, the formation of ethnic organizations was initially dependent on the emergence of an upper strata.

The term 'ethnic organizational acculturation' was then introduced to explain the overlapping process by which ethnic organizations function to accelerate the acculturation of the ethnic group members and contribute to the continuing emergence of a leadership strata. 206

In contrast, a low rank on the acculturative variables can be a barrier to acculturation. This hinders leadership development, because mobility, which is a prerequisite for leadership, is a function of the degree of acculturation. The lack of leadership, in turn, adversely affects the creation of ethnic organizations. These organizations were capable of performing certain functions which accelerated acculturation and fostered mobility. The absence of these organizations would be related to a slower pace of acculturation.

Aspira was examined and found to be one of the first

developments within the Puerto Rican community performing functions similar to the ethnic organizations of earlier periods of migration. The position of the Puerto Ricans on the profile of acculturative variables was found to be a barrier to acculturation. Thus, the whole process of ethnic organizational acculturation was retarded. The variables also explained the slow emergence of the middle class strata required to develop these organizations. Although their emergence was delayed, its occurrence was found to correspond in time to the incipient stages of development of Puerto Rican organizations, further confirming the assertions made about acculturation and the relationship between mobility and leadership development.

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